हो कर रहा हूं। मैं समझ रहा हूं कि मंत्री जी का वक्तव्य होने वाला है।

उपसभापति : दो मिनट हो गये हैं।

श्री ईश्वर्त यादव : मैं समाप्त ही कर रहा हूं। आप गरीबों के लिये मुफ्त आवास बनवा कर, हरिजनों के लिये, आदिवासियों के लिये, दूसरे लोगों को देने की व्यवस्था करें और कम रेट के ऋण पर लोगों को लोन देने की कृपा करें ताकि इस समस्या का हल हो सकें। धन्यवाद।

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Recent Provincial Council Elections in North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Madam, I rise to apprise the House of recent developments in Sri Lanka which have a bearing on the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement. At the core of this agreement are the provisions for setting up of Provincial Councils with sufficient legislative and executive powers to give the Tamils of Sri Lanka greater autonomy in the running of their own affairs. Constitutional amendments and legislation to give effect to these provisions were passed by the Sri Lankan Parliament several months ago and Provincial Councils were set up and elections held in all provinces of Sri Lanka except the North and the East. It is ironic, indeed, that although these provisions were enacted primarily to meet the demands of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka, the obduracy and intransigence of extremist elements have denied to them the benefits of these provisions when all other areas of Sri Lanka were enjoying these benefits.

The central point of LTTE's intransigence was their insistence that we recognise their right to set themselves up as the sole representatives of the Tamils. They claimed the right to ban any other Tamil party or group that they did not approve of and they claimed the right to indulge in any amount of violence against those who did not follow their dictates. We repeatedly made attempts to persuade them to give up these unilateral demands and join the democratic process. But all these attempts failed and the electoral process had to be proceeded with.

Before the elections the President of Sri Lanka had announced several measures which went a long way towards meeting the remaining demands of the Tamils, including the notifications of the merger and release of the remaining political prisoners who supported the Agreement. The LTTE, its supporters and even some of our friends warned us against holding elections without LTTE's approval. But we had firm indications from the ground level that the Tamil people wanted peace, they wanted an end to the violence and strife and they wanted a chance to exercise their democratic rights.

Accordingly, the electoral process was initiated on 12th September. Even at this last stage we tried our best to invite the LTTE to join the process. We declared a unilateral cease-fire from September 15 which, with an extension, lasted a total of 10 days. Though we repeatedly urged the LTTE to take advantage of the opportunity, and though the citizens of the Northern and Eastern Provinces tried their best to persuade them, the LTTE persisted in their by now familiar, obduracy and intransigence.

It had been widely predicted that no Tamil candidates would have the courage to come forward and contest the elections. But this was proved wrong and enough candidates came forward for every single seat in the North Eastern Province. The electoral alliance of the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and the Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) was the only group to fllanominations in the Northern Province and were elected unopposed. In the Eastern Province there was a contest between the Tamil parties, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and United National Party. The electoral process was completed on November 19th and I am glad to report to the House that it was completed with-

[Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao]

out any violence and with an overwhelming voter turnout.

I would like to share with the House the details that have become available about the voting pattern and the results. An average of nearly 63% of the registered voters throughout the Eastern Provinces cast their franchise —one of the highest turnouts in the Provincial Council elections in Sri Lanka. This percentage went up as high as over 79% in the predominatly Tamil district of Batticaloa while it was about 53% in Trincomalee and 55% in Amparai. Reports indicate that many of the Sinhala voters stayed away due to threats from the JVP. If provision is made for this fact, it would appear that an overwhelming high proportion of the Tamil population—perhaps as high as 80-90%—ignored the threats and appeals of the LTTE and voted in favour of peace and democracy. Another manner in which voters in Sri Lanka have traditionally expressed their disapproval has been to spoil their ballots. But the average of invalid votes throughout the Province has been below 2% and in the predominantly Tamil district of Batticaloa it was only 1.6%. These elections were observed by representatives of the Indian, Sri Lankan and international media and have been widely reported. Members will agree that the unanimous verdict is that the elections were peaceful, they were completely free and fair and above all they were an overwhelming success. The combined result of the elections is that in the North-Eastern Province, after taking into account the two bonus seats, the Tamil parties (EPRLF and ENDLF) have together got 55 out of a total of 73 seats, giving them a three-fourths majority. The Sri Lankan Muslim Congress has 17 and the UNP has 1 seat.

The results perhaps give us a clue to why the LTTE has consistently refused to submit to a popular verdict and preferred to seek their objectives by force of the gun. The Tamils have also signalled that they are in favour of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, that they would like to give it a try and that they want an end to violence and strife. I would once again call upon the LTTE to heed the call of the people they claim to represent and to give up violence which has been causing untold suffering to the Tamil people.

Sir, I would like to commend the excellent security arrangement made by the IPKF which foiled all attempts by the LTTE to intimidate the candidates, to terrorise the voters and disrupt the elections. While ensuring security, their arrangements also ensured a completely free and fair election. I would also like to place on record our appreciation for the services of many Sri Lankan volunteers who braved threats to their personal security by volunteering to serve as election officers and making the elections possible. I am sure that this House would like to join me in congratulating the Tamil parties, specially the EPRLF and the ENDLF, who have shown tremendous courage and foresight in standing up for peace and democracy. Last, but perhaps most important, we should extend our felicitations to the Tamil people of Sri Lanka who are the real heroes of these elections.

Thank you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I wish I had shared the optimism and the exuberance, if I may say so, of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. We know the background, the circumstances and the situation in which the elections were held. The Foreign Minister has taken pride in saying that there was a large turn-out in electing the representatives in the North-Eastern Province. But he has forgotten to state that it is from the existing registered voters. Many voters have been left out from the register. They were not registered. This is a small point. He has said that two groups participated in the elections, the Eelam People's Revolutionary Libera-

tion Front and the ENDLF in the Northern Province. All the candidates set up by these two groups were elected unopposed. In other words, there was no contest. In the normal circumstances, I would have felt very happy indeed that these seats have been filled up without contest, by unanimity. But this is not a normal context. And he has said that in the Eastern Province, there was a contest between the Tamil parties, the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress and the United National Party. It is intriguing why there was no contest in the Northern Province. Is it because of fear? Is it because of frustration? Is it because of intimidation? This calls for an explanation. I raise this thing because I fear, I really fear these elections may prove infrauctuous in course of time. The elections solve the issues, sometimes they do not solve the issues. Sometimes they throw up new issues. For the last 15 months, Madam, after the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord was signed, we are a witness, we are spectators to continued violence and strife. And with these tensions in Sri Lanka, the Government of Sri Lanka was practically isolated. It had to face the onslaught from the North and from the South. The JVP in the south, the LTTE in the north, created such a situation that the law keeping machinery and the IPKF itself in the north could not establish peaceful conditions. The ruling party had to suffer both in men and property and more than 600 people belonging to that party were killed so far and many have been injured. And in the Tamil dominated areas violence is continuing. In this atmosphere of violence and strife the elections were held and they were supposed to yield good political results. I wish they will yield enduring results. I am not holding a brief on behalf of LTTE. I detest violence. I detest unsettled conditions, instability. But let us recognise the fact that LTTE is an important and very vital factor in the settlement of...

Dr. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): They were born out of the people.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Whether they were born out of the people or not, I am not going into that, but it is an important factor that they have not cooperated in the elections.

What about the settlement itself? Many doubts have been raised by various quarters and two Bills have been passed in the Sri Lankan Parliament giving flesh and blood to the Accord. Under these Bills which have been passed, the provincial councils are to be created by the executive decree, by a Proclamation by the President of Sri Lanka, and its continuance is subject to referendum; referendum which is to take place in December. Whether it is going to take place in December or not, I do not know...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are talking about elections.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Elections are meant to stabilise the situation. Let us not look at his question from a narrow perspective. My whole question is whether it is going to solve the problem; we are all concerned with that. I wish this will solve the problem.

Madam, therefore, I say that the creation of provincial councils is subject to various things, various conditions and the powers of the provincial councils are also subject to various conditions. The Sri Lankan Parliament can undo what has been done. Powers have been given to the Sri Lankan Parliament to change the Chapter on Provincial Councils. They can take away the power, the functions, the jurisdiction; for instance, Tamil language itself, which has claimed equal status with the Sinhalese language. The provisions governing the Tamil language and the provisions which govern the Sinhalese language are diffierent. If the provisions are the same, I will be very happy, but they are not.

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

happy, but they are not. But the Government of India takes pride in saying that Tamil has got equal status with the Sinhala language.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please ask clarifications.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: These are mentioned here; I am asking clarifications. It is not a small thing at all. I am only expressing my misgivings. So, when the President himself is facing such a big crisis, both in the North and the South, and the elections are held in such a disturbed atmosphere, when the issues are not clear, when the settlement is not clear I would like to know from the Minister whether he is right in being optimistic, in being jubilant, as if big things have been achieved as a result of the elections. I would like to know what is the status of IPKF after these elections. If the Minister thinks that everything is settled because of elections he must have drawn up a schedule for the withdrawal of our forces from Sri Lanka. Has he done so? I don't know. I would like him to throw some light on this whether in his view, that all issues have been settled, that LTTE and other groups are going to support and cooperate with the results achieved by the elections, whether there is going to be a stable government, whether powers that are given to Provincial Councils are real powers or only powers which can be taken away by the Central Government at any time in future, whether the Council of Ministers is going to be created and will have absolute powers in respect of the list which has been given to them for administration or whether the Governor which is the representative of the President will have discretion, an undefined discretion to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Provincial Councils. These are the misgivings, doubts and suspicions which are prevalent, which have not been cleared. I wish the elections solve all these things; I wish very much so. I also very much wish that our forces are withdrawn as early as possible. I also wish that the situation in Sri Lanka as a whole will stabilise in future, and this should not remain a wishful thinking. I would like my friend to throw some light to clear all these doubts and misgivings.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy. Are you speaking from here? I thought you had a loud mike.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): I seek your permission to speak from here because I have got some papers.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I say please ask clarifications only because we have had discussions on Sri Lanka many times. So there is no point in going back to what happened in the past. It is all on record. So, you please ask clarifications.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is an elaborate statement with many details, not on elections alone it has given many details and this is the only occasion to seek clarifications on the details given by the Minister.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You ask clarifications.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will be very relevant and I will confine myself to the details given in the statement.

This statement is a cover-up attempt to legitimise the undemocratic and fraudulent elections held at the point of gun and by massive rigging. Worse than the Tripura elections because*

(Interruptions)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Madam, I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No point of order.

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: He says that the elections were undemoractic. How can elections be undemocratic?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yes, Just like the elections in Tripura. A glaring example I could cite, about Tripura Undemocratic elections. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is an observation. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): He says that the polling agents were*. This is going too far. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have got a lot of speakers to support the Government. Why are you upset? (*Interruptions*) It is my right to express my own views. You may not agree with me. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Let him say that he is holding a brief for the LTTE.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You can brand me anything. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Madam, I had raised a point of order. Please give you ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. It is an observation. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In the statement on page 3, it has been stated.... (*Interruptions*) You cannot make me agree to your view.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Absolutely.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Then, why are they interrupting me like this? (*Interruptions*) Mr. Minister, you should educate your people . (*Interruptions*). In this statement, there is a reference to the elections in the Northern Province. There was no contest, of course. In 'The Indian Express', which is always critical of the LTTE, there was a report by Rita Sebastian... (*Interruptions*) Madam, if they interrupt me like this, what should I do? I am making a reference to a report in 'The Indian Express' about the elections in the Northern Province.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can make a reference. But be precise in your reference.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am going to be precise. The report in 'The Indian Express' dated the 21st October, 198, by Rita Sebastian; says: I quote:

> "What has aggravated the already volatile situation in the Peninsula is the fact that the LTTE's bitterest rivals the EPRLF, have been declared the uncontested winners in the North by virtue of being the only group that filed nominations for the North-Eastern Provincial Council elections. The irony of it is that they have put themselves into the seat of power without any single vote being cast to test their popularity in the North, says a high-ranking Government official in the Peninsula."

Therefore, in the Northern Province, —that is where Jaffna is—there was no contest. You have held elections in the Northern Province! In the case of the Eastern Province, the people were terrorised, they were intimidated and they were marched from their houses to go to the polling booths. Only thirty per cent polling took place in some of the booths. But this figure was inflated to as much as 79 per cent. That is why I say that* I have given the example of Tripura. (*Interruptions*) Madam, in the first paragraph, the hon. Minister talks about the executive powers. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam, he is casting aspersions on the Army. This kind of remark should not go on record.

(*Interruptions*)

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him make his point. The Minister is there to answer. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: He is making a serious charge against the Army. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, have you anything by way of proof to substantiate what you are saying?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Yes. If you give me time I can substantiate this charge with evidence, with the latest reports I have received. Would you give me time? (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jagesh Desai, please sit down. Let me ask him. Mr. Gopalsamy, have you anything to substantiate this?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have got.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I cannot take newspaper reports as the basis.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Should I bring a video cassette?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You do not bring the Army into the picture. You talk anything about the elections but not about the Army.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In the first paragraph the hon. Minister talks about the executive and legislative powers to the Provincial Council.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : इन्होंने जो कुछ इंडियन आर्मी के खिलाफ कहा है, उसको एक्सपंज किया जाए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the records and see whether anything is to be expunged.

5.00 P.M.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You want to kill democracy even inside the House.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You are misusing the democratic rights given to you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is wrong. You cannot criticise the police force and the army if they commit something worng, it is a new theory given by the Prime Minister. Is it not your duty to pinpoint their drawbacks? Is it not our duty, if some grave offences are committed by these people...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Look Mr. Gopalsamy, if you want to ask any clarifications on the statement made by the External Affairs Minister, you are welcome to do so, but you do not make any asperisions on the army and if any such thing comes on the record I am going to expunge it. Whatever you speak, you should see that you can substantiate the same, not based on the ntwspaper reports. You should ask clarifications on the statement alone and nothing else.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The statement is about the elections, how elections were held. That is why I am putting the relevant questions. There was the question about the executive and legislative powers of the provincial councils. The vital subjects like agriculture, land, fisheries, educaton and emp'oyment have not been vested with the provincial councils. Even after the 13th amendment of the Constitution vital subjects have not been vested with the councils. Then you are talking about giving greater autinomy to the States. It is contrary to the truth. They have not been given the powers to deal with the vital subjects. Then, look at the discretionary powers given to the Governor. With these discretionary powers the Governors will be more powerful than the Governors in India and with one stroke the President can dissolve the provincial councils. Here is a reference about the merger of provinces. In paragraph 3 of the statement there is a reference to the

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

merger, but what has Mr. Premadasa, the present Prime Minister and the candidate for the presidential post put up by the ruling United National Party, said? I quote his speech on October 8, which has appeared in the 'Hindu':

> "Mr. Premadasa reiterated his opposition to the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces, one of the basic demands of the minority Tamils brought about through Presidential proclamation. He said that when elected President, he would provide at the earliest an opportunity to people of Eastern Provinces, to reject it in a referendum."

This is the reaction. Mr. Premadasa has also stated that he will throw away the agreement. The other contender for the presidential post. Shrimati Bandaranaike, has also said the same thing. Leave aside the implementation of the accord which is applauded by our friends here, what will happen to the merger question? That is a big question.

Here is a reference to the LTTE, that a unilateral ceasefire was declared first, it lasted for ten days. I would like to tell our hon. External Affairs Minister that if they had been sincere in their attempt to hold talks with the LTTE, they could have released Mr. Kittu, the then Jaffna Commander with whom your research and Analysis officers were holding talks for months together. They were simply put behind bars in Madras jail and then you say that a unilateral ceasefire was declared. If you had released them, it would have been a good gesture on your part, but you would not do that. Unilateral ceasefire is just to mislead the people, hoodwink the people of India particularly the people in Tamil Nadu. Here, I would like to ask about the reaction of this Government to the observations made by Mr. Premadasa. About the presence of the IPKF in Sri Lanka . . Madam, it is very relevant here because the JVP elements are gaining ground in the army, in the police and also in the political arena. So it may be a hypothetical question, that is why, Madam,...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You yourself have accepted that it is a hypothetical question.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The JVP elements are gaining ground. Now Mr. Premadasa says, if he is elected I quote Mr. Premadasa's speech made on Octoebr 8 which appeared in 'the Indian Express' on October 10: "If by the time I am elected President, the Indian forces..."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You speak from the statement, not from the newspapers.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is very relevant.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not relevant.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is very much relevant.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Statement of Mr. Premadasa—let them deny it. Mr. Dixit has also made a statement. They may not deny it. They cannot deny it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I told you whatever you want to speak, kindly speak out of the statement made by the Minister.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Because of your direction and orders, I have confined myself to the statement. This question is agitating everybody's mind, including our hon. Minister. You will agree with that? Is it a relevant question or not? If the hon. Minister yields, I will put the question, otherwise I will not put the question.

SHRI P. V NARASIMHA RAO: It is relevant on the general issue of Sri Lanka, not relevant to the statement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. May I have one word? On this statement, I said you can make

any relevant queries. You are most welcome to do it. I do not think anything about. Mr. Premadasa has been mentioned in it. Please keep it out.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Premadasa says, the moment he is elected President, he will ask the IPKF to clear out.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you should speak about what Mr. Narasimha Rao has said in his statement.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That is why I am asking, Mr. Premadasa says that he will ask the Indian Peace Keeping Force to get out from Sri Lanka the moment he is elected. Sirimavo Bandaranaike is te ling the same thing. So on the one side, the JVP elements are gaining ground and on the other side you are destroying the fighting force of LTTE. Then you are throwing the Tamils before the Sinhala chauvinists. That is why, Madam, in this last paragraph our hon. Minister congratulates the Tamil parties, the quisling groups—EPRLF and ENDLF—for what?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: For getting elected.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, you are sitting in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is the statement. That is why I am saying it. You go ahead.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Because you have reacted to this observation, that is why I just wanted to remind you that you are sitting in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Go ahead.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: These EPRLF people mercilessly killed the important Tamil leaders in Jaffna Peninsula in cold blood. Mr. Sivagnana Sundaram was killed on 21st October, the most important, popular leader of the Tamil masses whose name was included in the panel . . . Mr. Narayanasamy, please wait. You have got a large number of people from that side.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The same thing will apply to LTTE.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You can put your point later. Yesterday, I have received this memorandum from the Society for Establishing the Truth from Velvetithurai, Sri Lanka. It is dated November 9, but it reached only yesterday.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is it a part of the statement?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has congratulated the EPRLF. EPRLF have killed mercilessly important Tamil leaders, like Chandra Fernando and Sivagnana Sundaram, in cold blood with the help of IPKF. They are under the protection of the IPKF. When cease-fire was declared, EPRLF never surfaced the ground. They are fully in the ranks of IPKF. Therefore...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have had a long discussion on Sri Lanka. We have had many many debates on that. Now it is only Mr. Narasimha Rao, the External Affairs Minister's statement. Please confine yourself to that. Otherwise there will be no end to this.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, the Government wants to decimate the LTTE, annihilate the LTTE. And the Minister is happy. The Americans were also happy when they put up their puppet Government in Saigon, but the Vietcong taught a bitter lesson to them. Likewise, you are also trying to put up a puppet regime in Sri Lanka with your protection, fully arming them, giving them all the weapons. At the same time, in the second paragraph you are criticizing the LTTE. I would like to know from the honourable Minister for what reasons they are throwing napalm bombs in the jungles in the name of Operation Checkmate. In the name of Operation Checkmate, the JPKF is eliminst-

ing, liquidating, all important Tamil group leaders of the LTTE and their supporters. They went even inside their houses and killed them in cold blood. Therefore, Madam, with these things if you want to achieve something in Sri Lanka, with these elections, I am afraid, you have only created more chaos and confusion—because you have armed the EPRLF with sophisticated weapons to terrorize theTamil masses and kill the important Tamil leaders and, at the same time, you are trying to destroy the LTTE. But once the Presidential elections are finished in Sri Lanka, both the sides say, they will not support the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and will ask the IPKF to clear out. At the same time, you are damaging and destroying the only fighting force, the only shield that the Tamils there have had so far, over all these years.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Narayanasamy.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Therefore, I would like to ask the Government whether this Government would stop the war, the operations, against the LTTE even at this stage. I do not want the Indian Government to withdraw the Army immediately; that is not my point. I do not ask you to withdraw the IPKF immediately.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): What is the clarification?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I ask you to stop the operations, to stop the war... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, please do not call the other speaker before he concludes. Yesterday also you have done that. It is not fair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you don't conclude, I am definitely going to ask any other speaker. There is a way of running this House. You can't take it for granted that you will keep on speaking. Mr. Gopalsamy, if you have asked your queries, please sit down.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: So, this Government has committed betrayal after betrayal against the Sri Lankan Tamils. This is another betrayal attempt.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Madam, I have gone through the statement by the honourable Minister which is not only exhaustive but also projects the commitment by the Government of India towards fulfilling the accords and agreements which have been entered into not only with outside countries but also within India.

Madam, it is our firm decision that elections will be held for the Provincial Councils. Though Sri Lanka was delaying it, our Government pursued it, and the credit goes to our honourable Prime Minister and also our honourable External Affairs Minister and, especially, the IPKF who, at the risk of their lives, took care of the entire election process when not even a single untoward incident had happened there. As soon as the IPKF landed in the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka, they started doing constructive work there, apart from protecting the people who have been threatened by the terrorist group of LTTE. Not only that: Many of the IPKF personnel have lost their lives for the sake of implementing the Accord and safeguarding the interests of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka... *(Interruptions)*...

Madam, elections have taken place there in circumstances when both the JVP and the LTTE gave calls of threat and did not cooperate in the election process. But the people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have shown courage and determination to go in for elections and have their elected Councils there. Therefore, we will have to congratulate the people of the Northern and Eastern Provinces for co-operating in holding peaceful elections there.

[Shri V. Narayanasamy]

Madam, the National Front has come into being in our country. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has said that he is not holding a brief for the LTTE. I do not know how the National Front has diverged recently. The other hon. Member is from the DMK Party which is a regional party in Tamil Nadu, which is telling that they are the champions of the Tamil people, that they are trying to project the Tamil aspirations in Sri Lanka, and they are telling that they are holding brief for the LTTE.

Madam, I have two or three clarifications in the matter. There are reports that the EPRLF and the ENDLF both of them will contistute the Council there and that they will head the Council. I would like to know from the hon. Minister about devolution of power, when it will be given to them because there is going to be President's election on the 19th of December, 1988, whether it will be within a short period of time or it will take a long process.

Then, secondly, Madam, there are apprehensions shown not only in Tamil Nadu but also in Sri Lanka that the IPKF personnel would return to India. There are statements by the hon. Minister that unless and until the accord is implemented, they will not be withdrawn. But, I find that there is an apprehension in the minds of the people of Tamil Nadu. They have got little hope because now it is President Jayewardene's party, but Mr. Premadasa who is the present Prime Minister, is contesting in the President's election, is giving his apprehension about the accord. I would like to know when he comes to ppower as the President, what strategy the Government is working out for the purpose of implementing the accord and also for safeguarding the interests of the Tamils there because if the IPKF is withdrawn there is no security for Tamils in Sri Lanka. Therefore, I would urge upon the hon. Minister to tell us what strategy they have for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of Tamils in Northern and Eastern Sri Lanka.

One more point. When will the referendum be held for merger of the Northern and the Eastern Provinces?

I seek clarifications from the hon. Minister on these.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Madamji, Deputy Chairperson, I would seek the following clarifications from the Minister of External Affairs:

The first point is, after these elections are over how the Government of these Provinces is likely to function. If he could tell that.

The second point is: what would be the role of the IPKF after these elections?

The third point is: once the Provinces start functioning will they have their own security element to ensure peace:

(a) within their area, and

(b) in case they have from across their own provincial border some threat from the JVP or other elements which are inimical towards Tamilians?

Lastly, because the election to the Northern Provinces was held really without anybody voting for them, what is his assessment with regard to the hold of the LTTE in that area?

There is another point. It is the question of the merger of the Provinces. Is it final or can it be broken by the newly elected President when he come into being?

Thank you.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार): उपसभापति महोदया, मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि अभी जो चुनाव वहां पर हुआ वह अच्छा हुआ या बरा हुआ, रिगिंग हुई या नहीं हुई, यह इंडिया का कोई 24वां स्टेट नहीं है कि यह सदन इस पर डिसकशन करे कि वहां पर क्या हुआ क्या नहीं हुआ।

मारा उनका एग्रीमेंट था, हमने एग्रीमेंट के मुताबिक चुनाव करवाये है। जब यहां पर इंडिया में चुनाव में गड़बड़ी हो जाती है तो वहां की हम क्यों रिस्पांसिबिलिटि लें कि वहां अच्छा हुआ, बुरा हुआ.. (व्यवधान) हम किसी स्टेट का नाम नहीं लेंगे। आप लोग तो अभ्यस्त हैं, हरियाणा का नाम सुनकर रात को चौक कर उठते हैं। हमारे लिए हरियाणा नाइट मेअर नहीं है। हम इतना समझते हैं कि हमारी इलेक्शन पद्धति में भी कुछ गड़बड़ियां होती हैं। अमेरिका में जो राष्ट्रपति का चुनाव हुआ उसमें मेजारिटी आफ द वोटर्स ने वोट नहीं दिय। यही होता है।

हमारा दूसरा मंत्री महोदय से प्रश्न है। हमारा कहना यह है कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि सम्मानपूर्ण तरीके से आप अपनी फौज को वहां से जल्द से जल्द वापस करिये क्योंकि जो प्रेजीडेंट नामीनेटेड है जयवर्धने को पार्टी के वे ऐलान कर चुके हैं कि हम नहीं चाहते हैं, श्रीमती श्रीमावो भंडारनायके कह चुकी हैं कि हम नहीं चाहते हैं, जे.वी.पी. नहीं चाहती हैं, तामिल मूल के लोगों और एल.टी.टी.ई. जिनके लिए हम गये हुए थे उनकी काफी हत्याएं कर चुके हैं, उनके खून से हमारे हाथ रंगे हुए हैं फिर हम किसके लिए वहां पर हैं। हमने उनको एक प्राविस दे दिया, जो हमारी सरकार से सभव हो चका है वह आटोनामी देने की व्यवस्था हो गयी है, वे लें, नही लें यह हमारी जिम्मेदारी नहीं है। हम मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करेंगे कि जल्द से जल्द अपनी फौज वहां से वापस कर लीजिए, अगर नहीं करते हैं तो कारण बताइये कि क्यों नहीं करते हैं। क्या यह बात मंत्री महोदय नहीं समझते होंगे, ऐसी बात नहीं है। इसको लेकर चारों तरफ जो छोटे छोटे राज्य हैं उनको हम पर शक हो रहा है। कुछ घटनाएं ऐसी घटी हैं कि आप आर्मी भेज देते हैं इसलिए दूसरों के दिल में शक होता है। इसलिये जो नेबरिंग कंट्रीज हैं उनकी आस्था हमारे प्रति कम होगी। इसलिए यह सम्माननीय वक्त है कि हम अपना हाथ वहां से निकाल लें नहीं तो मंत्री महोदय बतायें कि क्यों नहीं निकाल रहे हैं।

एक तरफ कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि इलेक्शन कैसे हुआ, वहां पर भ्रष्टाचार हुआ कि नहीं, उसमें यह शर्त है कि नहीं और दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि फौज रखवाकर सब शर्तें मनवा लेंगे तो आप होते कौन है कि मनवाइयेगा। इंडिया गवर्नमेंट ने बेस्ट इंटेशन से जो चाहा गया उसके लिए कोशिश की। आप जब शुरू में गये थे तो हम लोगों ने समर्थन किया था। लेकिन हमने उस वक्त भी कहा था कि आप फंस जाइयेगा क्योंकि हमको उस वक्त अंदाजा था हमने एक घटना आपको बावड़ी की, कमलिया की दी थी कि मगर ने पानी में पकड़ लिया था और नहीं निकाल पा रहे थे। तो अब वक्त है आप कमलिया को भी छोड़ें और कमलिया भी आपको छोड़े, जल्द से जल्द वहां से आप अपनी फौज को सम्मान-जनक तरीके से वापस कीजिए नहीं तो अपमानित होंगे, दुनिया आपके खिलाफ जायेगी, वहां के लोग तो आपके खिलाफ हैं ही और इससे आगे की जनरेशन से भी अच्छा संबंध बना नहीं सकेंगे। इसलिए मंत्री महोदय इसको बतायें। अगर अभी बताने लायक नहीं हो तो टाइम लेकर कैबिनेट मीटिंग करें और बतायें। मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों को भी बुला लीजिए क्योंकि यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या है।

उस वक्त हमारे मित्र गोपालसामी बहुत कहते थे इंडियन फौज भेजो, फौज भेजो, शुरू में ये ही मांग करते थे। हम इसके खिलाफ थे क्योंकि हम जरूरत नहीं समझते थे। जब आप चले गये तो हमने समर्थन किया। तो शुरू में इन्होंने कहा कि भेजिए, भेजिए और अब कब से कह

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

रहे हैं, हटिये, हटिए.. (व्यवधान) ये लोग चाहरहे थे कि फौज जाकर कब्जा करके सबको ले ले, यह तो होने वाली बात नहीं है इसलिए हम लोग सम्मानपूर्ण तरीके से जल्द से जल्द वापस आये । अभी आप घोषणा कर दें कि फलानी तारीख तक हटेंगे यह सिर्फ सोवियत रूस के लिये 15 फरवरी की तारीख लागू नहीं है, आप भी कोई डेट तय कर दीजिए और वहां से जल्दी हटेंगे और आपको हम एडवांस में धन्यवाद दे सकते है अगर आप डेट एडवांस कर दे कि हम फलां दिन हट जायेंगे । ये ही हमारे क्लैरीफिकेन्स है ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : गोपालसामी तो नहीं चाहते है कि आर्मी वहां से हटे ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : अब चाहते हैं ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): In the statement the main core of the issue has been reflected in the way the election process was started and it has been completed. It is my view that the Minister has expressed some kind of optimism as if with the completion of the process of election democracy and peace will return to Sri Lanka. Madam I do not share this optimism with the Minister. It is true that there has been election in extraordinary circumstances and I do not feel that this House has got the competence to discuss about the internal situation in Sri Lanka because that is a country as sovereign as we are. Now, since we are involved, I think, the hon. Minister will agree with me that much depends even now on the attitude of the LTTE. The LTTE may take a hostile attitude to the provincial Government which are likely to be set up. In that case, I want to know from the hon. Minister what would be the role of the IPKF. I concede that the Sri Lanka law and order situation is a Sri Lankan affair because that is a free and sovereign country and we have got no right or authority to interfere in the law and order situation within that country. Now in case the provincial Government is installed and LTTE continues its hostile activities in that situation, what would be the role of the IPKF? Would the hon. Minister explain or clarify this point?

Majority of the Tamil population have some reservation regarding the extent of devolution of powers. If the provincial Governments are set up after the elections there may be some kind of contradiction or differences of opinion with the President and with the Central Government of Sri Lanka. In that case, I think, IPKF has got no role to play and what would be the attitude of our Government in that situation?

Lastly, I am glad to find in the statement itself that the Government still has made an appeal I quote: "I would once again call upon the LTTE to heed the call of the people they claim to represent and to give up violence which has been causing untold suffering to the Tamil people." Now with this appeal extended to them, I think, it means that the Government also agrees with me or shares the same view that the LTTE has got a definite role to play even at this stage.

Sometime ago there was some kind of negotiation started between our Government and LTTE representatives. Madam, I am surprised to know that those negotiations were conducted by the RAW. RAW is not the political representative of the Government. I would say it is a limb of the Government more interested in collecting intelligence. It has got no political *locus standi* in the matter of having negotiations in such a very complex and complicated situation. Now, may I know from the hon. Minister whether that process of negotiations has completely stopped or there are still some contacts with the LTTE? If there are contacts with the LTTE, does the Government propose to restart the negotiations with them in the altered situation and as a follow-

up measure made this appeal that has found place in the statement?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam Deputy Chairman, the elections to the North-East Council of Sri Lanka should be viewed in the context of the unenviable position in which we have placed ourselves in Sri Lanka due to our intervention there. Therefore, any step which would help us to extricate ourselves from that position should be welcomed. To that extent, we thought the elections would be a way out which would facilitate the IPKF to withdraw from Sri Lanka as early as possible.

particularly in view of the avowed stand taken by Mr. Premadasa that as soon as he is elected, he would ask the Indian army to quit. Therefore, before that position arises, we should come out with honour and honourably. Therefore, to that extent, the elections are a welcome feature. But I am not willing to be convinced by the Minister's statement when he says that the elections were completely free and fair and above all, they were an overwhelming success. The elections were held under very unprecended security arrangements. There was shortage of election personnel. The IPKF had to take a heavy responsibility in conducting the elections and completing them. I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to two or three statements and I would ask him to react to these statements.

One is from the "Times of India", dated 19th November, which says:

> The elections are admittedly not taking place under ideal conditions with the Tamil Tigers refusing to accept the Accord and giving a call for boycott. The most important militant group is out of the fray. The moderate Tamil United Liberation Front, the TULF, which could have given some credibility of the elections, has also opted out."

And secondly, Madam, the Government party, the United National Party, takes this stand. The Home Minister, Mr. Devanayagam, has this to say about the elections:

> "The UNP has not been provided with either protection or any other facilities by the IPKF. So, considering the peculiar ground situation, you can imagine our plight. These are no elections. The EPRLF, through the help of IPKF and their own gun-toting cadre, are terrorising the citizens to vote for them."

This is the statement of the Home Minister of Sri Lanka about the fairness or the way the elections were conducted. Also, "The Hindu", in its issue of November 19, says:

> "The EPRLF has not yet won the respect of many Tamils, residents in the East say. The EPRLF cadre has taken to walking about with weapons and in cases, forcibily persuading people to attend their meetings and in short, behaving in the same way that the LTTE once used to."

These are the conditions in which the elections were held, Madam. On the attendance the Minister said in his statement that there was a good turn-out of the voters there. On that, I would like to ask the Minister to comment. Particularly, in Sinhalese areas, in Amparai District only five per cent of the people voted. The Sinhalese completely boycotted. The Minister's statment itself bears this out. The Sinhalese have not participated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Which Minister no Sri Lankan Minister?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Our Minister. They have not participated out of fear. The report which I quoted also says that reason for the turn-out of Tamil voters. I quote:

> The Muslim Congress, a recently formed party, has been meeting

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

with an enthusiastic reception from the muslims who form one-third of the Eastern Province. Observers say that the Congress has been campaigning on a communal platform which has frightened Tamil voters. The Tamils realise that if they do not vote for the EPRLF, the Muslim Congress will be the winners and this has persuaded them to turn out in fairly large numbers."

Also, I was told and the report says that the Muslim Congress leader, Mr. Ashroff, has been travelling in an the IPKF helicopter to visit his meetings. Is it a fact? Has the IPKF given its helicopter to the Muslim Congress leader to campaign in these areas? Therefore, the turn-out is also an artificial one. That is what I wanted to make out from these Statements. As my friend, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, said, We don't hold any brief for LTTE. In fact, I am one of those who believe that they have been a little obstinate and they should have taken advantage of this election to come to power and utilise this democratic process to win the election. Anyhow, that too they could not be persuaded to do, maybe ,different reasons. Government says one thing and they say something else. I wish they had participated in the elections. Finally Madam, my question is, this type of elections having been conducted and completed there, what would be the credibility of this Provincial Council and will the elected people have any say over the Tamil voters or in the affairs of Sri Lanka? If the LTTE takes a hostile attitude to the Provincial Council, will it not become infructuous? What would happen in the situation? That is one.

Secondly, our job is almost over as per the Sri Lanka Accord. We had our own reservations about the Accord, but the Government stuck to it. Now our job is over. Is it not time for us to come away having completed the elections, whatever it is, fair of free,- —let us not go into that—— is it not time for us to comeo out with honour and leave the matters to be settled by the Sri Lankans themselves or the Tamil groups themselves? If it is so, when will the withdrawal start? Thank you.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Madam Deputy Chairmperson, at the very outset I would like to congratulate both the Governments, the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India, and also the people of Sri Lanka for their peaceful elections held in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka, so peacefully. I do not subscribe to the charge levelled by our friend, Upendraji, that the IPKF was busy terrorising the voters. Had the IPKF terrorised the voters, they would not have come out openely in such overwhelmingly large numbers. ..

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I didn't say IPKF; I said EPRLF.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: EPRLF? Achcha, but even then the turnout of large numbers of voters goes to prove that they were not terrorised. No doubt, the large turnout of the Tamil voters is a sure sign of the great support of the Tamils of Sri Lanka to the Indo-Sri Lanka Acord. However, I would like to know from the honourable Minister what, according to him, will be or is the reaction of the LTTE to these elections and whether the elections will result in gradual cessation of hostilities by them. That is one. Two: I would also like to know from the Minister whether as a sequal to these elections held so peacefully and so marvellously well, the IPKF troops will start pulling out of Sri Lanka in the near future and by when this pull-out is going to be complete.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am a great believer in the dictum that any election is better than no election at all. Even a rigged election is better than no election at all because when an election process takes place, you at least get

the chance to canvass for your point of view and go around. I remember in 1977 when the Emergency was there and elections were declared, a lot of the Opposition leaders felt we should boycott the elections because, they said, under these circumstances it wil be a rigged election. And it is to the credit of people like Morarji Desai and Charan Singh who stuck to the position and said, "No, we will contest the elections. At least we will have the chance to go and campaign; it does not matter what the results are." So in the same way I would say that whatever election has taken place in Sri Lanka, it is better than no election. And I consider the LTTE boycott of that election a Himalayan tactical blunder on their part.

Having said that I would say that the election has not solved the fundamental problem of Sri Lanka.

And I would like to ask the Minister this question ,whether he has reasly assessed the sentiments of the Tamil people. I would say that this election is comparable to the Congress Party contesting the 1937 elections in India during the freedom struggle. The fact of the matter is the polirisation. Can the Miinster give us a guarantee, now that the elections are complete, that the Sinhalese and the Tamils will live in peace and the Sinhalese will not carry out a genocide against the Tamils? If you pull out the IPKF, as some Members have suggested, can you be sure that with the Sinhala army, penetrated by the JVP thoroughly, today, the position of the Tamils is going to be safe and even the Chief Ministers and their Provincial Councils are going to survive? Therefore, the fundamental problem remains. And, Madam, I can tell you that whatever stop gap measures you may have, whatever stone-walling you may have, ultimately, it is the Tamil people who will have to be satisfied. Therefore— I have deat with this problem deeply and I am not making any irresponsible statement—I say that the Tamil sentiments will have to be sataisfied and will be satisfied only when they have a country of their own which they call as "Eelam", but which you do not want to give. It is not your business to stop it, but you are in a position to stop it and you are doing it. Anyway, what I am saying to you is this: Don't take this election as a ratification of your Sri Lanka accord, as a support for what you are doing. It is only, as I said, like the 1937 elections in which the Congress Party participated without accepting the British rule in this country.

I would like to ask the Minister, Madam, whether, in view of all that is being said about rigging about the IPKF involvement about helicopters being used, etc., he would consider sending a parliamentary delegation to that country because we want to see it for ourslves and it is our money that is being spent.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: But the elections are over now.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : The elections are over. But we would like to know how the people feel there. There are sentiments in our country that the IPKF should be pulled out. There are people who have said that IPKF should be pulled out and there are people who have said, 'No. It should not be pulled out.". So, we would like to know what the position is. I know that President Jayewardene a long time ago had invited a parliamentary delegation and he had personally also invited me. But I have not gone for obvious reasons.

AN HON. MEMBER: What are they?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY : That I would tell you separately. After all, if I am a person who believes that the Eelam should be granted, I cannot go to Sri Lanka at the invitation of President Jayewardene and

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

say there that it should be granted and I am also not one of those who will change their stand and would like to go from place A to place B. Any way, I would like you to consider seriously this. You are taking journalists there and so many other people there. Take a parliamentary delegation and let us have the opportunity of meeting the people—I am not saying, only Tamils, but the Sinhalese also—so that we can know how the things are because this is a question which some people have raised justifiably. You have signed an accord and now there will be elections tomorrow. Both the Presidential candidates have said, "You must leave" and if they say that you cannot leave you will face difficulty, because if you don't leave you will not be able to know your face in the UN about which you are much and you will be declared an occupation army and you will be in a terrible dilemma. So I would say, "Please get a clear assessment and to help you get an extra opinion." and that opinion can be obtained by ending a parliamentary delegation.

Lastly, I would like to know one thing I want to know whether under the Sri Lankan accord the finality of the North-eastern Council is to be established by a referendum. A referendum means that it depends on who the voters are and do you feel now that you can risk a referendum there where what you have achieved may be reversed by a referendum? The creation of the Council is by a Constitutional amendment. But the powers of the Chief Minister are by an executive order of the Government of Sri Lanka and they can be taken away by an executive order. In fact, it is a ridiculous situation because the Chief Minister of the Province can order the police only up to the rank of SP and a policeman above the rank of SP will be appointed by the President of Sri Lanka and will be answerable to him. You have a divided force now in three provinces. You have all these anomalies. And therefore, you will have to ask yourself the question whether you would be able to maintain what you have achieved and (b) whether you would be able now to resist any call or four pullout, now that both the Presidential candidate, have committed to your pull-out, and you on paper at least appear to have completed your words by holding these elections. Thank you.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam, I would like to to know through you from the hon. Minister what exactly is the latest situation. This is a statement on elections. But several observations have been made here and it develops from the statement also now because you are concerned with the elections in a foreign country only for one reasons that our army is there. Are we going to have our army for a longer time or is it going to come back sooner? Are we in a position to withdraw our army in this situation? somebody is saying that our Tamils are not safe. Somebody said that they would be attacked. So in a nutshell I would ask whether by sending we have accentuated the contradictions the Sri Lankan society or we have relieved them of those contradictions. This is a relevant question. About rigging and other things, anyway, one stage of election is over. We are happy that one stage of election is over and now we are going to another stage. Whether the left over stage was not so good or was bad is another point. A very vital question arises. What are the powers of the Provincial Council because if it usurps these powers then what was the use of our sittings in such a big way for all these things?

These problems remain. Let the Minister kindly answer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Ram Awadesh Singh.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : महोदया, मैं शुरू से ही जब से श्रीलंका और भारत की संधि हुई, उस दिन से ही लगातार मैं इस विचार का रहा कि यह समझौता गलत है और भारत को इसकी जिम्मेवारी नहीं लेनी चाहिए, भारत को पार्टी नहीं बनना चाहिए और जब बहस पहली दफा यहां सदन में शुरू हुई तो उस वक्त भी मैंने कहा था कि भारत लंका समझौता भारत के गले में हड्डी की तरह से फंस गया है, तो उस वक्त मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि मुझे तो कोई हड्डी नहीं दिखाई पड़ रही है, तो मैंने कहा था कि आने वाले दिनों में हड्डी आपके गले में छेद करेगी और आपको इसका अंदाजा पड़ेगा। महोदया, वह बात सही हो गई है और मैं बहुत बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता (व्यवधान) मैं बहुत संक्षेप में 2–3 बात कहकर ही स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा। आपका बयान परस्पर विरोधी है। मैं आपका ही पढ़ देता हूं। एक ओर आप खुद स्वीकार करते हैं कि हमने 15 सितंबर को अपनी ओर से एक तरफा युद्ध विराम की घोषणा की जिसकी अवधि भी बढ़ाई गई और इस प्रकार 10 दिन तक युद्ध विराम लागू रहा। यह वाक्य अपने आप में पर्याप्त है रोशनी डालने के लिए कि युद्ध विराम 10 दिन ही रहा, खूनखराबा 10 दिन ही रुका। आप चुनाव का फ्री एण्ड फेयर वातावरण, निष्पक्ष एवं निर्भीक वातावरण चुनाव कराने का नहीं बना पाए। आपका यह वाक्य अपने आप में प्रमाण है, यह मुझे बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप खुद कहते हैं कि हमने 10 दिन तक युद्ध विराम किया, इसके अलावा नहीं किया : आपने जो वहां चुनाव कराए वे बेयोनेट के बल पर कराए।

उपसभापति : आप इधर देखकर बोलिए, जगेश देसाई जी चेयर पर नहीं हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : तो थोड़ा मुझे आराम है। उन्होंने यह कहा कि 79 फीसदी यहां चुनाव हुए। महोदया, मैं अपने यहां का अनुभव जानता हूं। मेरे क्षेत्र में चुनाव 104 फीसदी हुआ, वहां वोट पड़े 104 फीसदी, कैसे? वहां पर सारे बूथ कैप्चर कर लिए गए और जब काउंटिंग की तो पता चला कि वोट 104 फीसदी हो गए हैं, यह भी ध्यान नहीं रखा कि सौ फीसदी से ज्यादा न डालें। तो लगता है कि जो टेक्नालाजी कांग्रेस की सरकार ने बिहार में लागू की, वही श्रीलंका में भी इम्प्लीमेंट की और 79 फीसदी वहां चुनाव में वोट पड़े बेयोनेट के बल पर वहां चुनाव कराए। यह आपका चेहरा साफ बताता है कि आप ने कैसे चुनाव कराए।

उपसभापति : आप सवाल पूछिए, आप भाषण कर रहे हैं..

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मुझे खुशी होगी कि जो इच्छा इन्होंने व्यक्त की है कि वहां शान्ति कायम हो जाएगी तो हम अपना दायित्व पूरा करेंगे। यह काम हो जाए तो ये इनको मुबारकबाद दूंगा। मुझे बड़ी खुशी होगी कि हमारी सेना वहां से सही सलामत वापस आ जाए और वहां शान्ति कायम हो जाए। जिनके बचाव के लिए आप वहां गए थे हमारे समझौते ने उनको मार डाला। यह हमारी विदेश नीति का फेल्योर है। पिछले साल मई और जून में हमने वहां मानवीय आधार पर दवाइयां और भोजन भेजा था और ऐसे चक्कर में फंसे कि वहां सेना को जाना पड़ा। यह हमारी विदेश नीति का फेल्योर रहा कि तीन महीने बाद हमको फौज लेकर उन्हें मारने के लिए जाना पड़ा।

महोदया, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि क्या सरकार इस बात की गारंटी कर सकती है कि वहां से सेना के लौटने पर जिनको बचाने के लिए हमारी सेना गई थी, उनकी वहां रक्षा हो सकेगी? समझौते के दिन ही हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की गर्दन पर राइफल की जो चोट लगी थी, वह बताती है कि सिंहली जनता भी हमारे समझौते के साथ नहीं थी और उस समझौते के बाद जे.वी.पी. की शक्ति डेढ़ साल में कितनी बढ़ चुकी है। इस

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

समझौते का दुष्परिणाम यह हुआ कि सिंहली जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली जे०वी०पी० की शक्ति बढ़ी है और जिनको बचाने के लिए आप गए थे उनके ऊपर मारक शक्ति बढ़ी है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जे०वी०पी० के जो भावी राष्ट्रपति पद के उम्मीदवार है वह कहते हैं कि आप हटो, तुम गलत काम कर रहे हो। 2-3 दिन में जब चुनाव होगा तो आपकी क्या दशा होगी? अच्छा है कि आप जितनी जल्दी हो वहां से हटिए, नहीं तो आप कहेंगे कि ये लोग मारेंगे।

उपसभापति: राम अवधेश जी सवाल पूछिये। 6 बजने वाले हैं, साढ़े चार बजे से डिसकशन चल रही है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: बड़ा परटिनेंट क्वेश्चन है।

उपसभापति: परटिनेन्ट क्वेश्चन तो है पर टाइम भी हो रहा है। क्वेश्चन पूछिये।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश): सवाल तो नरसिंह राव जी आप बना देंगे।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: यह मैं कह रहा कि उस समय समझौते के समय हमने यह पूछा था और सरकार ने यह जवाब दिया था . . .

उपसभापति: अब सवाल पूछिये।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: अगर वहां नहीं जाते तो श्रीलंका में अमेरिका आ जाता, पाकिस्तान आ जाता और कोई देश आ जाता। यह कहा कि इसीलिए हम वहां गये। हमारे जाने का क्या मतलब था?

उपसभापति: आप यही पूछना चाहते हैं कि अब वह वापस आ जाये?

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: दूसरी बात यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि जो बहाना बनाकर यह गये थे कि अमेरिका आ जायेगा, पाकिस्तान आ जायेगा क्या वह डर अब छूट गया है क्या वह डर अभी भी शाश्वत है। जब वहां से हटेंगे तो पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा जो पहले रिश्ता था अब भी वही है, अमेरिका से जो रिश्ता पहले था अभी भी वही है तो क्या खतरा टल गया है? अगर नहीं टला है तो फिर वहां रहने के लिए कोई और बहाना बनायेंगे या अपना हाथ बचा कर आ जायेंगे? नहीं तो जैसे विएतनाम वहां फंसा था और लात खाने से वहां से भागा था वैसे आप भी लात खाकर भागेंगे।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the hon. Minister.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: When is the Parliamentary delegation going?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Madam, I am grateful to the Members who have spoken, who have expressed their view and did not bother to ask clarifications. Madam, I do not find any exuberance in my statement. After Mr. Gurupadaswamy made that remark, I tried to read it once again even while the Member was speaking. I did not say 'hip-hip-hurrah'. I did not say everything is over. I only gave a factual limited report of what happened during the last few days. That is my duty, and it is the right of Parliament to know what is happening on such an important issue. That is all there is to it.

Madam, the main clarifications, if I may be permitted to glean them from the speeches made are: What is going to happen next? Now, the election is one step in the long process. As Mr. Subramanian Swamy said, and I am very happy to quote him, elections are better than no elections. We were finding ourselves in a situation where we did not know what the people wanted. And here is proof that the people want peace, peo-

ple want end of this strife. They want to give a try to the Provincial Council to which they have been elected. So, this is all that we can conclude from what has happened. Now the Provincial Councils have to start functioning. Chief Ministers have to come. The Governments have to be formed. Though the Provincial Council elections to the North Eastern Province have been held, the Government has yet to be formed, a Governor has yet to be appointed, and a Chief Minister has yet to be named. Once the Provincial Government has been set up, it will have to act and this, I would like to respond to Gen. Aurora, in accordance with the powers devolved under the 13th Amendment of Sri Lankan Constitution for setting up a Provincial Administration and a Provincial Police Force. Now this is the Force that presumably will take over the law and order situation and the protection duties in that area. These are important next steps to bring back a sense of safety and security in the North Eastern Province of Sri Lanka. These steps will be taken and until they are taken, according to the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the IPKF is in Sri Lanka to help in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and to ensure the safety and security of all communities in the North Eastern Province. I think, that sums up the answer to the two or three important questions that have been raised.

6.00 pm.

Now, I would like to go into the motivations why the Tamils voted, why the Tamils did not desist from voting. That is their own affairs. What I am concerned with is that there has been a heavy turn out which means in political terms that they have made to their mind on certain extent of participation, their own participation and a trial to be given to whatever has been provided in the Sri Lanka Agreement. If they have reserved their final opinions, I cannot say, because that would again be a speculation. What I am concerned with at the moment is that what has happened is a matter for a little optimism. Now, I cannot say that after the elections are over, in my opinion nothing will happen. That would be totally illogical and, therefore, since an important step has been taken, in the process let us hope and let us look to the future with certain optimism that as a result of these elections there is a momentum created and that momentum will have its own logic, that after the elections are over, a Government will come, and after the Government comes, the Government will start functioning according to the devolution the package of rights given to them. And when they start functioning, naturally they will be in touch with their own people, the people want even more powers. This has been the experience in the southern provinces. They have asked for more powers, in addition to the devolution that has taken place. The southern provinces themselves said, even before the north-eastern provinces said, that the powers given are not adequate, more powers are to be given and President Jayawardene did promise that he will think of enlarging the package. So, these are all signs which go to at least indicate that there is a solution in the offing, a solution which can come out can emerge only by the democratic process and the democratic process in the North-East has started and, therefore, we can lok to the future with certain amount of optimism and there is no reason to think that exactly the opposite is going to happen. I am cautious about that naturally problems will raise and these problems will have to be solved in consultation with the Government of Sri Lanka and in that process whatever they want us to do, it is a matter of bilateral arangement. he Indo-Sri Lanka Accord is a bilateral accord, a bilateral agreement. I do not see how either our Government or any Government or any Government in Sri Lanka can take a decision unilaterally. We do not expect anything to happen like that. Therefore, at the moment I have nothing more to add to the situation as we find it. The newspapers have reported before the election and after the election. There has been some speculation before the election, which was not very optimistic, which was expressing all kinds of misgivings. Yes, all of us had mis-

(Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao)

givings. There is no question that every body was cocksure about the result but after the election because the election was fair, open, free, and media people went there, it has been extensively reported and we do not have any adverse observations in regard to the conduct of elections. So this is what I would like to submit to the House.

Other matter, the merit of the Accord, that is something into which we need not go now. The elections have been held in pursuance of the Accord. I am not going behind the Accord. This is not the occasion, that is what I would submit.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What about Parliamentary delegation? (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the clarifications are over and we will resume the discussion on National Housing Policy. Smt. Sudha Joshi. (*Interruptions*).

Resolution Re: National Housing Policy-Contd.

SHRIMATI SUDHA VIJAY JOSHI (Maharashtra): Madam, Deputy Chairperson, I rise to speak on the National Housing Policy.

AN HON. MEMBER: How many more speakers are there?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She will be the last speaker.

SHRIMATI SUDHA VIJAY JOSHI: Housing is a basic need which comes in priority next to food and clothing. As regards food and clothing, we have achieved a considerable level of progress in satisfying the minimum needs of our population but when we come to the third need of providing shelter, we come to realise a vast gap between demand and supply. As per the estimates of the backlog made in this sector by National Buildings Organisation it comes to a staggering figure of 23.3 million units in 1981 and taking into account the growing needs, it is estimated that by the turn of the century, we will need to have 39.1 million additional units to provide shelter to everyone. Madam, the problem is further compounded by the fact that physical condition of the existing houses is a matter of serious concern. It is estimated that about 30 per cent of these units are more than 40 years old, providing a further life-span of 20 to 30 years. Thus in the year 2010 they would come up for renewal and to that extent they would add up to the problem.

The problem of housing has to be clearly analysed separately for urban, semi-urban and rural areas. This becomes essential as the compplexities of the problem change according to their location in metro, urban or rural areas. In metros and urban areas, particulrly in large cities, the problem is of land costs whereby economic housing activity is not possible. Therefore, a large percentage of the population is forced to live in slums. Half of Bombay's population lives in slums. Madam, seven years back, my friend went to well-known builder in Bombay as she wanted to purchase a flat there and the builder said, yes, you can get a flat but you have to pay money in 60:40 ratio. She asked whether it meant 60 in white and 40 in black. He said no, it is the other way round. Nowadays, the position has still worsened. Black percentage has gone up. Wherefrom even the middle class salaried people can bring this money? It is very difficult for them to have a house

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Even you can't afford a house now.

SHRIMATI SUDHA VIJAY JOSHI: We cannot also afford a house in Bombay. We have been having a house there since long and that is why we are now in that house; otherwise it is not at all possible to purchase a house in Bombay.

Land speculation, competing land-uses, location of residence vis-a-vis other infrastructures and work place make the problem more complex. In urban areas, 60 per cent of the occupants of the houses are tenants. In rural areas, a large proportion of the houses is owned by the occupants. But the problem basically is of quality of housing and lack of public of quality of housing and lack of public